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ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN WORKERS AND THEIR AGRICULTURAL HOMELAND IN NIGERIA AND ZAMBIA

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ABSTRACT In Nigeria, urban workers, in theory, are expected to return to farming in their rural homeland in response to the rise in the relative price of agricultural products for both domestic and foreign markets as a result of the currency depreciation of under a structural adjustment programme. My study found strong socio-economic ties between urban workers and their rural family and a strong desire to reengage in agriculture. However, several factors work against the migratory worker's immediate return to their homeland in Nigeria.

Similar ties were found among both Nigerian and Zambian workers in construction sites.

Key Words: Labour migration; Economic ties; Nigeria; Zambia.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on field studies executed during the summers of 1989 through 1991 in Nigeria, and in 1990 and 1991 in Zambia. In 1989, I interviewed personnel managers and examined personal records at ten offices in Nigeria. In 1990 and 1991, I carried out a survey by questionnaire in Nigeria and Zambia. The questionnaires were collected at offices, firms, factories, engineering and construction sites with some relations with Japan, for convenience.

The main aim of this paper is to study the economic ties between migrant workers and their homeland in Nigeria and Zambia. Nigeria is now experiencing an economic crisis due to the declining price of petroleum. The Nigerian government has formulated and imposed a package of economic reforms, more or less in the same line with recommendations made by the IMF and World Bank to developing countries that apply for financial support (Cf. Federal Ministry, 1989; Phillips & Ndekwu, 1987).

There are two main remedies for a country running a deficit in the current account of its balance of international payments. The first is to reduce absorption or spending by tightening in monetary or fiscal policy, and the second is to introduce market forces into the economy. Since Nigerian goverment adopted auction system in foreign exchange market, its currency, naira has steadily lost value (Later, in early 1992 the goverment abandoned the auctions and floated the currency). With devaluation, the relative domestic prices of internationally tradable goods will rise uniformly to those of non-tradables, which remain unchanged. Producer price in agriculture will rise relatively and farmers will be induced to increase their production, while the cost of living in cities will rise due to the rising price of imported consumer goods. One focus of my study was whether the urban workers

would leave for rural areas to reengage in agriculture.

Zambia is also in an economic crisis. The international price of copper was high in 1964 when Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) achieved independence. But the price of copper in the world market collapsed in 1975, and, since then, copper prices have declined continuously (See Kydd, 1989). Zambia was obliged to accept the conditionalities laid down by the IMF in 1989, and is now struggling to repay the accumulated debt.

Nigeria was a British tropical colony with few white settlers, and the production of export goods was in the hands of dispersed small peasants. Zambia was a British settlement colony, and agricultural production was in the form of plantations owned and managed by settlers while the main export industry, copper, was run by huge foreign mining firms.

A comparative study would have been interesting, of these two old colonies. However, all three construction sites, my surveys in Zambia and two sites in Nigeria were confined to construction sites run by the same Japanese corporation. Therefore, similarity, rather than differences, in labour behaviour in these two countries were observed in the results.

The results of the questionnaire survey are classified into four categories as follows.

Notation: $_0$ means survey made in 1990, and $_1$ means in 1991.

Nigeria

A_0: ten offices in Lagos Island, Ikoyi and Victoria Island.
Number of respondents: 115

A_1: seven offices in Lagos Island, Ikoyi and Victoria Island.
Number of respondents: 53

B_0: three factories in Ikeja Industrial Area and one in Ogun.
Number of respondents: 221

B_1: two factories in Ikeja Industrial Area and one engineering work at Ibadan.
Number of respondents: 72

C_0: (a) one construction site, Delta IV, Ughelli in Bendel State. The work has almost finished. Number of respondents: 133

(b) one construction site at Kaduna. Construction finished in 1980, the turn-around maintenance work and improvement work continue.
Number of respondents: 40

C_1: (a) one construction site in Victoria Island. Number of respondents: 126

(b) the construction site of C_0: (b). Number of respondents: 47

Zambia

D_0: two construction sites at Jumbe in Mambwe District, Eastern Province and at Zimba in Kalomo District, Southern Province. Number of respondents: 372

D_1: one construction site at Lukona in Kalabo District, Western Province.
Number of respondents: 315

The majority of respondents were labourers, but some were office workers and a few were senior staff. The classification of States used here is the old one before the population census of 1991 in Nigeria.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PERSONAL INCOME IN NIGERIA, 1989 AND 1990

I. Salary of Employees

In theory, given the economic crisis, urban workers engaged in the informal sector are expected to return to rural homelands. However, all Japanese establishments from which I sought information belong to the formal sector, and they do not exhibit the characteristics of the informal sector such as contravention of regulation, family-owned style and illiteracy of owner. I picked up driver, guard, cook, steward and messenger as the lowest income group from the personal records in every establishment, because they are expected to go back easily to their homeland.

The salary/allowance (per month) advice for 1989/90 given by the Nigerian government to private employers is shown Table 1.

This is a payment guideline and companies culculate salaries generally based on this advice. However, actual payments are complex. If a senior staff is offered a car by the firm, transport allowance is not paid. If a cook/steward is living in the employer's house, he cannot receive a house allowance. In some cases, a luncheon voucher is not issued. Basic salary reflects the school career, experience, talent, etc. Although my sample size is small, the average salary per month by occupation is shown in Table 2. The average of I, II and III amounted to 455.36 naira. Nigerian domestic production in 1989 was 224,797 million naira (*International Financial Statistics, Yearbook 1992*) and population in 1989 was 84,910,801 (census 1991) (*Central Bank of Nigeria*, 1991, Table 5.41), thus GDP per capita per month amounted to 220.62 naira. The calculated average personal income is 2.06 times as high as GDP per capita.

In their response to the question, "How much do you earn monthly?" in 1991, a few respondents described their basic salary, house allowance and transport allowance separately, as found in the company personal record. Others mentioned their disposable income. Some firms distributed my questionnaire to all employees, while others confined the respondents to junior staff and driver or to those who could write in English. Consequently, the calculation of average monthly salary and standard deviation have no meaning, although I made the cumulative distribution. My estimate of the salary earned by the lowest ranking workers in each establishment are as follows:

A_1: 240～300 naira.
B_1-(a): 420 naira.
B_1-(b): 300～400 naira.
B_1-(c): 200 naira.
C_1-(a)-Victoria Is.: 400～500 naira.
C_1-(b)-Kaduna: 250～300 naira.

B_1-(b) and B_1-(c) manufacture the same products and were not operating at full capacity under the economic recession. The reason for the large difference in salaries between these two is not particularly clear. However, the difference between C_1-(a) and C_1-(b) is due to the location. C_1-(a) is in a primary city and C_1-(b)

Table 1. Government advice for monthly salary 1989/90.

	(naira)
1. Basic salary	230.00
2. House allowance	85.00
3. Transport allowance	120.00
4. Luncheon voucher	60.00
5. Overtime rate (per hour)	
Ordinary (work day)	1.70
Public holiday	2.80

Table 2. Monthly salary by occupation.

	(naira)	(Number)
I Driver		
Age in average in 1989: 39.3		(11)
1. Basic salary	256.73	
2. House allowance	84.55	
3. Transport allowance	107.27	
4. Luncheon voucher	38.18	
5. Overtime rate (per hour)*		
Ordinary work day	1.99	(7)
Public holiday	3.24	(7)
The rate in average	2.40	(11)
Total	534.73	
* For four persons no discrimination between ordinary and public holiday.		
II Cook and steward		(5)
Age in average in 1989: 37.4		
1. Basic salary	276.60	
2. House allowance	10.00	
3. Transport allowance	10.00	
4. Luncheon voucher	0.00	
5. Overtime rate (per hour)*		
Ordinary work day	1.83	(3)
Saturday	2.23	(3)
Sunday	2.97	(3)
The rate in average	2.47	(5)
Assuming 20 hours of overtime per month, this amount came out:	49.40	
Total	346.00	
* For two persons no discrimination of the rate between ordinary work day, Saturday and Sunday.		
III Messenger, guard, gardener, etc.		(3)
Age in average in 1989: 41.0		
1. Basic salary	244.67	
2. House allowance	116.67	
3. Transport allowance	80.00	
4. Luncheon voucher	20.00	
5. Overtime rate (per hour)	1.20	
Assuming 20 hours of overtime per month, this amount came out:	24.00	
Total	485.34	

in a local city. B_1-(a) is an engineering work site at Ibadan, comparable to C_1-(a).

The main reasons for leaving the previous firms of employment indicated in personal records were the closing down of the firms and irregular or poor payment of salary. Giving the present employment conditions and the Nigerian economic recession consideration, there is little possibility that the workers can find better employment than in Japanese firms, much less return to their homeland to engage in agriculture. One Japanese manufacturer of galvanized sheet for roofs reduced its labourers from 800 in 1980 to 110 in 1990, because decreased demand for its products, due to general recession and competition with asbestos tile manufacturers utilizing less imported material. Even during this period only one worker retired voluntarily. This person had to succeed his father as a traditional chief. It is common for companies to utilize retirement in retrenchment with the understanding of the trade union. The labourers who accept retirement do so for the opportunity to get a lump sum of money as retirement allowance. In a Japanese general trading company, the scale of retirement allowance was as follows:

1～5 years service: basic salary × 2/4 × years of employment
6～10 years service: basic salary × 3/4 × years of employment
More than 10 years service: basic salary × 5/4 × years of employment

Many employees borrowed money from their employers. Senior staff, in particular, are entitled to a house and car loans. Junior staff, on the other hand, can apply for salary advances for pressing needs. When debt accumulated, the repayment becomes difficult except through a retirement allowance.

II. Farmer Income

1. Rice cultivation in Lower Anambra

The Lower Anambra Irrigation Project funded by the government of Nigeria and the Overseas Economic Corporation Fund of Japan is located about 55 km west of Enugu and about 55 km north of Onitsha in Anambra State. It extends over an area of more than 5,000 ha., of which 3,850 ha. was completed in 1989. The climate is characterized by two distinct seasons, rainy and dry, and it is possible to operate double or even triple cropping of rice through irrigation. The water is lifted (31 m high) at the Ifite-Ogwari Pumping Station and then distributed to each paddy field through two canals in the dry season. A majority of farmers in six villages in and around the project area participates in this irrigated rice cultivation. My informants in this project were a staff in the construction company for this project in 1989 and a female worker in the office of the same company, at Warri, who borrowed two plots in the project and hired a farmer to cultivate rice for her in the dry season in 1988. Based on the data gathered from these two informants, I made an accounting model of rice cultivation in the project in Table 3. The unit of paddy field is a plot (0.5 ha.). In the dry season, a farmer must pay for the cost to pump water and scare away birds. In the rainy season, storing the crop is easier and farmer can time the sale until when the price is favourable. Consequently, the model is composed of two seasons.

In the case of double cropping, net income is 2,880 naira, which amounts to about 240 naira per month.

Table 3. Rice farmer income in Lower Anambra.

	rainy season	dry season	(naira)
1. Rental	205	225~235	(including pumping cost)
2. Other costs*	500~800	1,000~1,300	
3. Harvest	24 bags**	24 bags	
4. Sale price per bag	80	120	
5. Gross sales	1,920	2,280	
(a) The lowest net income	915	1,345	
In the case of double cropping net income: 2,260 naira and about 190 naira per month.			
(b) The highest net income	1,215	1,665	

* One bag of rice for nursery, costs of raising of seedlings, transportation, trasplanting, tractor for ploughing, border clearing, re-transplanting of some damaged parts, fertilizer, patching, pest control, weeding, supervision, birds scare and harvesting. Wage per day was 22 naira in 1988.
** One bag contains 80 kg of paddy as standard, but traders put sometimes 100 kg in a bag.

A farmer can cultivate three plots at the same time. If he cultivates three plots twice a year, his net income per month will be 570~720 naira. Since income per capita of a farmer is 400~500 naira, according to local observation, the model is not implausible. Farmers usually cultivate some food crops in their house garden. They need not purchase food in the market, and, moreover, they can earn additional income by working for another farmer during their free time. If farmers work hard, they will be able to earn more income than that earned by casual labourers in the cities.

2. Ebiya village

Ebiya is a small village containing about 100 Igbira households, located at the mid point between Okene and Ajaokuta in Kwara State. Based on the field study by Shupei Shimada of our survey team in 1990, I recalculated household income per month by occupation in Table 4.

Table 4. Monthly income in Ebiya.

	(naira)
1. Farmer	225
2. Retired farmer	292
3. Retired labourer	220
4. Migrant labourer	306
5. Government official	383

Each household has two or three working persons. Villagers need not buy food in the market, but income in Ebiya is not attractive to urban migrant labourers.

RESULT OF THE SURVEY BY QUESTIONNAIRE IN 1990 AND 1991

The pattern of migration to work sites is given in Table 5. In order to determine the pattern of migration to work places, I asked the birth place of workers, although this is not always the same as the actual homeland, because some wives

Table 5. Place of birth by State in Nigeria and by District in Zambia, and language spoken in family in both countries.

A_0

Place of birth: 15 States and 3 foreign countries excluding Philippines								
Imo	Bendel	Oyo	Lagos	Ogun	Ondo	others		effective responses
22.5	15.3	11.7	8.1	8.1	6.3	27.9	(%)	113

Language spoken in family: 27 languages								
Yoruba	Igbo	Ibo	Ibibio	Ishan	Urhobo	others		effective responses
30.7	16.7	10.5	7.9	4.4	3.5	26.3	(%)	114

Three foreigners are composed of two from Benin and one from Togo, and there is one Yoruba who was born in London. In the case of A_0, although the offices are located in Lagos State in Western Region, 65% of employees came from Eastern Region and Bendel (Mid-Western Nigeria), and the distribution of language approximately corresponds to that of place of birth.

A_1

Place of birth: 10 States									
Bendel	Imo	Akwa-Ibom	Oyo	Cross River	Lagos	Ogun	others		effective responses
22.7	20.5	13.6	13.6	6.8	6.8	6.8	9.1	(%)	44

Language spoken in family: 26 languages, excluding one Filipino									
Yoruba	Ibo	Igbo	Ibibio	Ishan	Urhobo	Isoko	others		effective responses
21.2	15.4	15.4	11.5	5.8	5.8	5.8	19.2	(%)	52

All seven offices in A_1 are included in A_0. The results of questionnaire are roughly same to A_0.

B_0

Place of birth: 15 States and 1 foreign country								
Ogun	Oyo	Ondo	Lagos	Bendel	Imo	others		effective responses
22.5	20.2	19.3	13.3	7.8	6.4	10.6	(%)	218

Ogun, Oyo, Ondo and Lagos occupy 75.7%, while Eastern Region and Bendel do 17.9%.

Language spoken in family: 28 languages					
Yoruba	Ibo	Igbo	others		effective responses
72.4	4.6	4.1	18.9	(%)	217

B_1-Two factories at Ikeja.

Place of birth: 8 States								
Ogun	Oyo	Ondo	Lagos	Imo	Bendel	others		effective responses
27.1	20.8	20.8	16.7	6.3	4.2	4.2	(%)	48

Language spoken in family: 9 languages				
Yoruba	Igbo	others		effective responses
85.7	4.1	10.2	(%)	49

In B_0 one factory is located in Ogun, but quite near to Lagos State. The other two factories are same ones in B_1. These B labourers came overwhelmingly from Yorubaland.

B_1-One engineering work at Ibadan.

Place of Birth: 10 States						
Oyo	Bendel	Ogun	Imo	others		effective responses
38.1	14.3	9.5	9.5	28.6	(%)	21

The labourers came from Oyo, Ogun and Ondo occupy 42.4%, while those from Bendel, Benue, Imo and Akwa Ibom occupy 33.3%.

Language spoken in family: 7 languages

Yoruba	Ibo	others		effective responses
63.6	18.2	18.2	(%)	22

C_0-Delta IV.

Place of birth: 8 States and 1 foreign country (Ghana).

Bendel	Imo	Rivers	Anambra	others		effective responses
40.6	20.3	9.6	6.3	23.4	(%)	64

Language spoken in family: 24 languages

Urhobo	Igbo	Ibo	Isoko	Others		effective responses
34.8	25.8	12.1	6.8	20.5	(%)	132

All three foreigners came from Ghana.

C_1-Victoria Is.

Place of birth: 15 States and 2 foreign countries

Imo	Lagos	Bendel	Anambra	Rivers	Ghana	others		effective responses
30.4	15.7	13.7	7.8	4.9	6.9	20.6	(%)	102

Language spoken in family: 28 languages

Ibo	Yoruba	Urhobo	Igbo	Isoko	others		effective responses
41.3	17.5	5.6	4.8	4.0	27.0	(%)	126

C_0-Kaduna.

Place of birth: 10 States

Bendel	Kaduna	Imo	others		effective responses
40.0	14.3	11.4	37.1	(%)	35

Benue, Anambra, Imo, Rivers, Cross Rivers and Akwa Ibom are classified in Eastern Region, while Sokoto, Kano, Kaduna and Borno are in Northern Region. 71.4% came from the former and Bendel, while 28.6% came from the latter.

Language spoken in family: 18 languages

Ibo	Igbo	Hausa	others		effective responses
10.0	37.5	10.0	42.5	(%)	40

C_1-Kaduna.

Place of birth: 10 States

Imo	Bendel	Kaduna	others		effective responses
32.3	12.9	12.9	41.9	(%)	31

Kano, Kaduna, Borno and Plateau are classified in Northern Region, Lagos and Oyo in Western Region. According to this classification, 64.5% came from Eastern Region and Bendel, 29.0% came from Northern and 6.5% came from Western Region respectively.

Language spoken in family: 7 languages

Ibo	Igbo	Igala	Hausa	others		effective responses
25.5	12.8	6.4	6.4	48.9	(%)	47

D_0-Jumbe.

Place of birth: 18 Districts & 1 foreign country (Malawi)

Chipata	Mambwe	Lundaji	Petauke	Katete	others		effective responses
28.3	20.8	15.0	12.1	9.8	13.9	(%)	173

Language spoken in family: 14 languages

Chewa	Nyanja	Kunde	others		effective responses
47.9	20.5	19.1	12.6	(%)	215

D_0-Zimba.

Place of birth: 28 Districts

Kalomo	Choma	Livingston	others		effective responses
35.6	15.4	13.4	35.6	(%)	104

Language spoken in family: 21 languages

Tonga	Lozi	Toka	Bemba	others		effective responses
53.0	10.6	9.1	5.3	22.0	(%)	132

D_1-Lukona.

Place of birth: 17 Districts and foreign countries

Kalabo	Mongu	Secheke	Senanga	Chipata/Mambwe	Kitwe	Livingston	others	(%) effective responses
73.2	10.2	2.0	1.4	5.4	1.7	1.0	5.1	295

Language in spoken in family: 22 languages

Lozi	Mubunda	Luvale	Chewa	Silozi	others		effective responses
54.0	27.5	4.5	3.5	1.9	8.6	(%)	313

When plural languages are written, one is selected as representative.

returned to their native village to give birth. The ethnic group of the workers were determined by asking for the language spoken in their family.

When a small village or the name of a hospital was given as the birth place, I could not determine the state in Nigeria or district in Zambia. But with the data for the language spoken in the family, I could roughly determine the pattern of migration. In the case of A_1, the majority of workers came from Eastern Region and Bendel. This reflected the general saying that the Ibo group was especially good in clerical work. In the case of B_1, labourers overwhelmingly came from Western Region and Bendel, because factories are located in Western Region. In the case of C_0-Delta IV, the majority of labourers came from Eastern Region, and Bendel, because the construction site is located in Bendel State. In the case of C_0 and C_1-Kaduna, the majority of labourers came from Eastern Region especially from Imo, and from Bendel. When the construction of a refinery started at Kaduna in 1976, Nigeria had only one refinery at Port Harcourt. As the experienced engineering and construction workers were found only in Eastern Region and Bendel, skilled workers were recruited through one Ibo chief from Warri, who, himself, came to Kaduna, and through local big men, around Port Harcourt. Consequently, important positions like the security manager and labour control manager were occupied by Ibo. At the completion of refinery construction, the office was closed for two years. Those workers who came from Eastern Region remained at Kaduna, and were reemployed when the office reopened. Casual or common labourers were recruited around the site. Some of them were hanging around waiting for a job, while others had strong recommendation from the local big men.

In the case of C_1-Victoria Island, the majority of labourers came from Eastern Region and Bendel. This was because the construction was done under the same corporation as at Warri and Delta IV in Bendel State. Labourers are apt to move from one site to another, seeking under the same employer. Sometimes good labourers are recommended to move to the new site by their employer.

In the case of D_0 and D_1 in Zambia, all three construction sites were building junior and secondary school houses. As there was no big village around the site Jumbe, the majority of labourers walked long distances to the site. Eventually, a small village called Taisei Compound formed outside the site. Huts were built of wood and grass collected from bushes in the vicinity, and labourers lived with their family. In comparison, Zimba had towns and villages around it, and the majority of labourers commuted to the site. At the Lukona site, a number of small villages were located on a line from north to south of the site, and residents in Kalabo District walked to the site from their homes. Kalabo, Mongu, Sesheke, Senanga, Koma and Lukulu are in Western Province. Sixteen labourers at the Lukona site came from Chipata/Mambwe. One general worker earned 2,453 kwacha per month. The other fifteen labourers were skilled workers. Two earned are 6,500 kwacha per month, one earned 6,400 kwacha, three earned 6,000 kwacha, and nine earned 5,000 kwacha. The higher-paid workers would have been induced to move to Lukona by the corporation after the work at Jumbe finished. Fewer labourers came to Lukona from Southern Province than from Eastern Province, although Zimba is located much nearer to Lukona than to Jumbe. The reason may be that the Tonga group is not good at working in a modern organization. As three workers from Livingston are Lozi group and general workers, they may have moved to Lukona voluntarily. One Tonga at Lukona earned 5,300 kwacha, but he may have been be an exception.

In Zambia, general workers at construction sites gathered from near by. They had little opportunity to earn cash income, and once the construction was completed, they were obliged to go back to their homeland. In Nigeria, the majority of general workers gathered from nearby, while people from Eastern Region and Bendel have historically travelled for to work.

Worker background and their family ties are given in Tables 6 through 15.

Table 6 shows that the age of workers in C_1 and D_1 was younger than in A_1 and B_1. Marital status is given in Table 7. C_1 had more single workers and the reason may be that C_1 labourers had come from remoter places. The number of children in Table 8 shows that people in agricultural villages had more children than urban residents. A man born in Kalabo in 1930, working at Lukona, had twenty children. A father born in Maidugri in 1935 had sixteen children, and was working at Kaduna. Table 9 shows relatively few workers in D_1 lived with their wives. This may be due to the long distance between their homes and the site. Table 10 shows that extremely few wives worked in D_1-Lukona. This may be due to the locality, where wives have little opportunity to work for cash. Table 11 shows that the most common occupation for worker wives was the trader. Table 12 shows that D_1 workers had the highest percentage for living with the parents. Table 13 shows parental home area. Table 14 shows that C_1 had the highest number of working parents, a reflection of younger age structure in this group.

Table 6. Age group.

Age group in 1991	under 20	20~	30~	40~	50~	(%)	effective responses
A_1	0.0	26.4	47.2	22.6	3.8		53
B_1	0.0	18.1	47.2	23.6	11.1		72
C_1	1.7	44.5	38.7	13.3	1.9		126
D_1	5.4	40.6	27.0	11.4	14.6		315

Table 7. Marital status.

	married	single	(%)	effective responses
A_1	84.9	15.1		53
B_1	93.1	6.9		72
C_1	69.9	30.1		173
D_1	81.3	18.7		315

Table 8. Number of children.

Number of children	0	1~4	5~8	9~	(%)	effective responses
A_1	2.2	67.4	30.4	0.0		46
B_1	1.5	69.7	25.8	3.0		66
C_1	2.5	84.3	10.7	2.5		121
D_1	3.1	61.7	25.8	8.2		256

Table 9. Living with wife.
Are you living with your wife?

	Yes	No	(%)	effective responses
A_1	97.7	2.3		44
B_1	100.0	0.0		66
C_1	95.0	5.0		121
D_1	82.8	17.2		256

Table 10. Occupational status of wife.
Is your wife working?

	Yes	No	(%)	effective responses
A_1	23.8	76.2		42
B_1	55.4	44.6		65
C_1	59.7	40.3		119
D_1	2.7	97.3		256

Table 11. Occupation of wife.
If Yes to the above question, what kind of job?

	trader	civil servant	teacher	secretary	hair dresser	tailor/seamstress	others	(%) effective responses
A_1	45.5	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	0.0	18.2	11
B_1	85.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	40
C_1	62.3	1.4	13.0	0.0	5.8	8.7	8.7	69
D_1	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	3

Table 12. Living with parents.
Are you living with your parents?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_1	2.0	98.0	51
B_1	8.8	91.2	68
C_1	9.5	90.5	169
D_1	64.9	35.1	282

Table 13. Place of parents.
If No to the above question, are your parents living in rural area?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_1	94.3	5.7	53
B_1	87.1	12.9	70
C_1	83.0	17.0	165
D_1	84.9	15.1	252

Table 14. Working status of parents.
Are your parents still working?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_1	24.0	76.0	50
B_1	32.4	67.6	68
C_1	66.9	33.1	166
D_1	32.1	67.9	277

Table 15. Occupation of parents.
If Yes to the above question, your parents' occupation.

(a) Father's occupation

	farmer	hunter/fisherman	trader	civil servant	secretary	tailor	other artisan	others	(%) effective responses
A_1	92.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	14
B_1	92.9	0.0	3.6	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	28
C_1	62.5	1.9	9.6	4.8	1.9	1.9	5.8	11.5	104
D_1	85.5	2.3	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.0	4.6	6.1	131

(b) Mother's occupation

	farmer	trader	farmer/trader	teacher	secretary	tailor/seamstress	other artisan	others	(%) effective responses
A_1	64.3	35.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14
B_1	56.0	40.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25
C_1	50.0	45.4	0.9	0.0	0.9	1.9	0.9	0.0	108
D_1	98.0	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	148

The results in Tables 6 through 15 suggest that the majority of workers came from the rural area and from a farming household. In Nigeria, the traditional pattern of division of labour in a family has the head of family as the farmer, while his wife cultivates food crops as well as engages independently in trade. Some husbands and wives are traders. But rare is the case in which the husband is the

Table 16. Remittance to the home place.
Do you send money to your family in home place (1990)?

	Yes	No	(%)	effective responses
A_0	95.6	4.4		115
B_0	81.7	18.3		221
C_0	97.7	2.3		174
D_0	86.3	13.7		366

Similar question is given also in 1991.
Do you support your parents financially?

	Yes	No	(%)	effective responses
A_1	100.0	0.0		52
B_1	94.2	5.8		69
C_1	97.6	2.4		166
D_1	90.7	9.3		268

Table 17. Frequency of remittance.
If Yes to the above question, how often?

	more than twice per month	monthly	less than once per month	(%)	effective responses
A_0	1.0	75.2	23.8		105
B_0	2.9	76.2	20.9		139
C_0	0.6	80.3	19.1		157
D_0	1.3	88.3	10.4		299

	weekly	monthly	biannually	annually	occasionally	(%)	effective responses
A_1	1.9	54.7	7.5	3.8	32.1		53
B_1	3.1	72.7	0.0	6.1	18.2		66
C_1	0.0	77.2	6.8	2.5	13.6		162
D_1	51.1	24.8	3.9	7.4	12.9		311

Table 18. Proportion of remittance to salary.

	0.1	10.0~	20.0~	30.0~	40.0~	50.0~	(%)	effective responses
A_1	6.1	24.2	12.1	36.4	12.1	9.1		33
B_1	7.4	24.1	35.2	11.1	11.1	11.1		54
C_1	12.5	17.4	24.3	19.4	13.9	12.5		14
D_1	26.3	39.7	15.1	8.2	3.9	6.9		232

Table 19. Food receiving.
Are you receiving foods sent by someone in rural area?

	Yes	No	(%)	effective responses
A_0	30.0	70.0		100
B_0	23.6	76.4		195
C_0	50.7	42.3		142
D_0	39.2	60.8		362

trader while his wife is a farmer. Tables 16 through 19 try to establish the economic ties between migrant workers and their homeland.

Table 16 is on the remittance to home. Financial aid to parents is common in all cases. The survey made in Kitwe, Zambia by Robert H. Bates indicated (Bates,

1976, Table 8.20) that only 45.3% of shantytown dwellers, in contrast to 83.5% of mining township residents responded "Yes" to the question "Have you or have you not ever sent money to persons in the village?" The lower percentage among remittance of shantytown dwellers may be because they lack the incentive to cultivate ties with rural kin, as they have decided to remain in town. In contrast, in my survey, labourers at construction sites were working temporarily, so they seemed to have kept strong ties with their homeland.

The frequency of remittance is shown in Table 17. The majority remit monthly, while workers who came from remote areas did so biannually, annually, or occasionally. At D_1-Lukona, the majority of labourers lived with their parents, and money seemed to pass weekly to their parents.

Table 18 shows the proportion of the remittance to salary. Occasional remittance is inevitably omitted in my calculation. Workers in D_1-Lukona were living with the parents and have low figures in this table. Table 19 indicates the ties between workers and their homeland in the form of food receiving. Table 20 through 24 concern social as well as economic ties between migrants and their homeland. Table 20 and Table 21 show the desire to return to and the number of days of the month actually spent in the homeland by the workers.

The reluctance of migrant workers to return is shown in Table 22. Some reasons given for not liking return visits to one's homeland contradicted the responses to the question. There is a possibility that respondents confused "Yes" and "No" for their answers in English. Responses given as liking return visits but without any reason given are excluded from (b) as ineffective responses.

P.O. Olusanya asked a similar question. "Do some people who have left the villages to live in big towns dislike coming back to the village even for visits?" to the household heads in five rural villages in Western Nigeria (Olusanya, 1969: 89, Table 5.6). He found that 32.4% responded "yes," while 64.2% said "no." In a survey on people migrating to towns in Ghana, John C. Caldwell asked this question: "Do any people go to the town and dislike coming back to the village even for visits?" In rural survey, 65% responded "yes," while in urban survey 69% responded "yes." According to Caldwell, there are in Ghana, as in the West, rural-urban migrants in the town who shudder at the mention of rural life and who have almost completely broken ties with it and with their rural relatives (Caldwell, 1969: 148, Table 6: 6). Direct comparison will not be appropriate, but the difference is quite remarkable.

The migrant workers' desire to return to their home place is related to their present job satisfaction. This is examined in Tables 23 and 24. In places like D_1-Lukona, the majority of labourers will have no opportunity to earn cash income once the construction finishes. Attitudes toward agricultural activities after the return to one's home place in the future is examined in Tables 25 through 32. Combined results of Tables 25 through 27 indicate that workers think they want to grow food crops both for their own consumption and cash.

No response or the response, "No," is excluded as ineffective from (1) in Table 30, while it is included in (2). In D_1-Lukona, the majority of workers would like to farm for both consumpton and cash. It seems that differentiation of food crops from cash crops is not so marked. In C_1-Kaduna and D_1-Lukona the workers

Table 20. Duration of stay in home place.
If you return to your home place, how long do you stay there?

	1~3 days	4~7 days	more than 8 days	(%)	effective responses
A_0	32.2	12.2	55.6		90
B_0	60.1	17.4	22.5		173
C_0	71.3	9.8	18.9		143
D_0	58.1	10.3	31.6		130

Table 21. Hope to return to home place.
Will you hope to go back finally to your home place in future?

	Yes	No	(%)	effective responses
A_0	97.3	2.7		110
B_0	91.4	8.6		209
C_0	98.2	1.8		163
D_0	91.2	8.8		365

Table 22. Dislike returning to home place.
Do you dislike coming back to your home place even for visits? If yes, what is the reason?

	(a)		(%)	(b)		(%)
	Yes	No	effective responses	Yes	No	effective responses
A_0	0.0	100.0	112	0.0	100.0	112
B_0	7.7	92.3	207	5.4	94.6	202
C_0	8.9	91.1	158	6.5	93.5	154
D_0	13.7	86.3	371	6.7	93.3	343

The reasons of dislike are indicated in (c).

(c)	
1. Moved and settled down in a different place	15.9
2. Parents or relatives died	9.1
3. No money or no time	11.4
4. Bad living conditions in the home place	34.1
5. Trouble in the home place	11.4
6. Prefers another place to home	2.3
7. No reason	15.9

Table 23. Possibility of changing jobs.
Do you hope to change your present job in future?

	Yes	No	(%)	effective responses
A_0	64.2	35.8		95
B_0	70.4	29.6		189
C_0	75.0	25.0		140
D_0	56.6	43.4		364

Similar question in 1991.
If you leave your present job, will you seek another job near here?

	Yes	No	(%)	effective responses
A_1	53.2	46.8		47
B_1	37.9	62.1		66
C_1	75.1	24.9		173
D_1	82.4	17.6		312

Table 24. Returning to native place.
If No to the above question, are you going back to your native place?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_1	71.8	28.2	39
B_1	84.1	15.9	63
C_1	62.9	37.1	70
D_1	96.7	3.3	239

Table 25. Working in agriculture.
If you return to your home place for a long time, will you work in agriculture?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_0	85.1	14.9	114
B_0	87.4	12.6	215
C_0	92.8	7.2	166
D_0	95.3	4.7	362

Table 26. Growing food.
If Yes to the above question, will you work for food?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_0	86.4	13.6	110
B_0	88.5	11.5	209
C_0	92.2	7.8	166
D_0	96.2	3.8	366

Table 27. Growing cash crops for export.
If Yes to the above question, will you work for cash crops for export?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_0	63.2	36.8	106
B_0	69.7	30.3	201
C_0	76.7	23.3	159
D_0	77.3	22.7	365

Table 28. Working in rural areas in future.
Similar questions in 1991. Will you like to work in rural areas in future?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_1	94.2	5.8	52
B_1	88.9	11.1	72
C_1	91.7	8.3	168
D_1	97.8	2.2	312

Table 29. Working in agriculture.
If Yes to the above question, will you work in agriculture?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_1	92.3	7.7	52
B_1	87.0	13.0	69
C_1	82.0	18.0	167
D_1	97.3	2.6	305

Table 30. Kind of crops to cultivate.

	food crops	cash crops	both	no responses/no (%)	effective responses
(1) A_1	63.3	20.4	16.3		49
B_1	56.5	9.7	33.9		62
C_1	73.0	6.6	20.4		137
D_1	21.8	4.6	73.6		307
(2) A_1	58.5	18.9	15.1	7.5	53
B_1	48.6	8.3	29.2	13.9	72
C_1	57.8	5.2	16.2	20.8	173
D_1	21.3	4.4	71.7	2.5	315

Table 31. Cultivation of food crops in house garden.
Are you cultivating food crops in your house garden?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_0	28.0	72.0	100
B_0	41.6	58.4	197
C_0	66.0	34.0	141
D_0	88.2	11.8	365

Table 32. Need for bank loans in agriculture.
If you go into agriculture, do you need bank loans?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_1	96.2	3.8	53
B_1	89.3	10.6	66
C_1	92.1	7.9	140
D_1	61.5	38.5	309

classified millet and cassava both as food and cash crops. Main crops in Kaduna are millet, corn, yam, cassava and groundnut, while those in Lukona are maize, cassava and rice. For workers who could not mention any kind of crops in A_1, B_1 and C_1-Lagos, agriculture may not be of immediate interest.

According to the observation by managers in C_0 and C_1-Kaduna, some migrant labourers have borrowed nearby farmland. One even cultivated crops illegally on the site. Those who work hard farming after duty on week days as well as on holidays, are also good workers at the site, at least, according to a factory manager at Ota, Ogun State. Table 31 on cultivation of food crops in house gardens supports this observation.

Table 32 shows the need for bank loans in agriculture. Farmers in D_1-Lukona had little access to a bank.

Building a big house with many rooms, or, for that matter, a small one is a symbol of success for migrant labourers in Sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, home building among them is surveyed as one indicator of rural-urban ties. Questions were in Tables 33 through 36.

John C. Caldwell observed that housing forms the largest item of specific expenditure in the village by the rural-urban migrant in Ghana (Caldwell, 1969: 123, Table 5: 2 and 146, Table 6: 4). Residential homes nearby under construction are

Table 33. Owning a house.
Do you own a house in your own home place?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_0	15.2	84.8	112
B_0	11.0	89.0	210
C_0	27.4	72.6	168
D_0	92.3	7.7	364

Table 34. Building a house near the present residence.
If No to the above question, are you building one here?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_0	4.8	95.2	105
B_0	5.0	95.0	200
C_0	8.4	91.6	155
D_0	32.9	67.1	225

Table 35. Building a house after returning to home place.
If No to the above question, do you hope to build one after you finally return to home place?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_0	93.0	7.0	100
B_0	97.3	2.7	188
C_0	94.9	5.1	157
D_0	70.9	29.1	206

Table 36. Building rooms.
If No to the above question, have you built any rooms on to your family house in the home place?

	Yes	No (%)	effective responses
A_0	18.5	81.5	81
B_0	9.6	90.4	166
C_0	27.8	72.2	151
D_0	88.6	11.4	220

observed everywhere in both rural and urban areas in Nigeria.

CONCLUSION

Since the introduction of a flexible foreign exchange system in Nigeria, the value of the naira has continuously declined. People in the informal sector in the urban area are expected in theory to return to rural homelands in response to the rise in the producer price in agriculture to reengage in agriculture. I substituted the lowest class of workers in the formal sector for workers in the informal one in this survey. Comparison of the worker salary with farmer income shows that the lowest salary in the formal sector may be still more attractive than income from farming. An exception was Lower Anambra, where hard-working rice farmers can earn more income than migrant labourers in city.

In Nigeria, people from Eastern Region and Bendel have historically moved out of their homeland to work elsewhere. The traditional division of labour in the family is still observed. Most urban workers keep their ties to the home and, but will not go back to their homeland immediately even if they are laid off.

In Zambia, my survey was confined to the construction labourers. Moreover, the corporation in charge was the same one as in Nigeria. There is much similarity on the movement of labourers from one site to another between these two countries.

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